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EDITORIAL

In recent years, secondary education has increasingly come under attack. There are many respects in which it is considered the weakest link in the American educational system. College education is directed to more mature people, and presumably those whose vocational plans are already made and whose personality patterns are fairly well formed. Elementary and early childhood education have made great strides toward incorporating an understanding of principles of growth, development, and emotional needs.

The secondary school link has, in this writer's judgment, no such comparable body of data nor insights into adolescence. In addition, the academic section of secondary education is tied to the wheel of admission to liberal arts schools. The liberal arts tradition is "riding herd" on in the thinking of educational leadership. Warner, et. al., have shown that in the average American community not only are students rated by whether they take academic subjects, but faculty by the same values. UNESCO's experience in the pilot project of Haiti tended to show that academicians were reluctant to have liberal arts education diluted by making it useful as a resource in raising the cultural life of the community. Thus, the tendency to identify liberal arts with snootiness and class structure make for one of the most difficult educational problems of our day.

What is worse . . . those who do not fit into such a curriculum come to be characterized as persons who are not "naturally academic minded." Literature of secondary

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education is replete with such references as "academic-minded," "manual dexterity," etc. It is interesting that we still revert to "natural" to excuse the recurrence of the phenomena we do not understand. Plato in writing in his Republic spoke of the "natural proclivities" of people and organized his State on this basis. Secondary education in 1951 seems to have reverted to Plato and natural proclivities. Instead of appetites, will, and intellect as "natural" categories of mankind, we have substituted academic-minded, manual dexterity, etc. The only difference is that Plato planned for those who did not fit his "higher" categories of the academic realm. Educators today seem to have no adequate plans for the misfits in their system. They simply charge them off as "natural" failures and relegate them to second-class citizenship in the school community.

A STUDY OF THE HOME LIFE OF WELL-ADJUSTED CHILDREN IN THREE AREAS OF THE U.S.

Irving W. Stout and Grace Langdon

The study herewith reported grew out of the thought that an analysis of the causative factors in good adjustment might yield significant and useful suggestions for the initial establishment and continued maintenance of such adjustment just as the many useful studies of mal-adjustment have brought to light causative factors therefor and have yielded suggestions for its correction and prevention.

The study had its beginning in Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, in 1948-49. The findings based on interviews with the parents of 158 children selected by their teachers as being well adjusted were reported in the April 1950 issue of this Journal.1 Thereafter the study was continued in the New York metropolitan area and surrounding suburbs during 1949-50 with the parents of an additional 103 welladjusted children being interviewed bringing the total number to 261. The replies of the parents of these 261 children to the question, "What in the family life has helped your child to be well-adjusted?" is reported in detail in the book. "These Well-Adjusted Children" together with tables, charts, and descriptive analysis of the statistical findings of the study in the Milwaukee and New York areas. The study was further continued during 1950-51 in a rural farming and mining area in Southern Illinois with the addition of interviews with the parents of 153 well-adjusted children bringing the total to 414.

Herewith is reported the overall findings from the three areas together with comparative analysis under the same headings as in the original report.

Specifically the geographic areas from which children were selected were: (1) Milwaukee County, Wisconsin including the city of Milwaukee with estimated population of

¹Journal of Educational Sociology. Vol. 23. No. 8. April 1950. ²These Well-Adjusted Children...The John Day Co. March 1951.

850,000 and its suburbs, (2) New York City with its various boroughs, nearby Long Island, Westchester County, and nearby Connecticut and New Jersey, (3) Southern Illinois within a radius of 85 miles from Carbondale in the extreme southwestern part of the state where the largest community has a population of not more than 30,000.

The same Research Director conducted the study in the three areas and the plan initiated in the Milwaukee area has been consistently followed throughout. The criteria used to determine good adjustment in each instance are as follows: 1. Does he play well with other children? 2. Does he appear to be a happy child? 3. Does he have reasonable control over his emotions? 4. Can he be depended upon? 5. Is he achieving somewhere near his capacity? 6. Is he able to think for himself? 7. Is he kind and helpful to teachers and classmates? 8. Is he liked and respected by his peers?

The selection of children was made by school principals and teachers largely from the public schools though some children came from private, including parochial, schools. Care was taken that good adjustment should be unquestionably assured and effort was made to include wide representation of family pattern.

In each instance the interviewers worked under the immediate guidance of the Research Director and were graduate students from a college or university in the area, namely, Milwaukee State Teachers College for the Milwaukee area; New York University for the New York City area; and Southern Illinois University for the southern Illinois area. A period of training preceded the taking of interviews and regular discussions with the Research Director paralleled the interviewing to insure the maintenance of the interview technique. Since the purpose was to secure the parents' spontaneous and unbiased response to the question, "What in the family life has helped your child to be well adjusted?" it was agreed that the interview should be natural, friendly, and informal with a minimum

of set questions. It was the conscious intent of the interviewers to LISTEN, questioning and commenting only as necessary to keep the interview moving.

In recording the interview the only set form used was a face sheet giving the information on home set-up and parental background. Such points were included as size of home, whether rented or owned, whether child had own room or shared, age of parents, their education and occupation, the approximate family income both presently and at child's birth, number and ages of children, and relatives living in the home, if any. Other than this the interviews were recorded in running descriptive style with as much direct quotation as possible, and with interviewer's comment, if any, indicated as such. Usually the interviewer took brief notes during the interview but when this seemed to interfere with the spontaneity of response only mental notes were made. In either case the interview was written up immediately so that as much as possible of what was said could be preserved.

It seems significant that no parent of any of the 414 children selected refused the interview and the evident freedom and ease of response from the parents, the unsolicited expressions of enjoyment of the interview from many, and the wealth of information and comment secured suggest factors in the interview technique of practical usefulness for teachers.*

THE FINDINGS

The findings of the study are reported herewith in two parts—Part I. Background factual information, and Part II. Account of what the parents said.

In this report, as in the first one, that for the Milwaukee area, the only claim made is that the findings are true for this group of children.

^{*}The interview technique will be discussed in detail in a forthcoming bulletin.

Part I. Background Information

The Children. The 414 children of the study ranged from 5 to 22 years. The Milwaukee group of 158 had a concentration of 57.5% in the ten to fourteen year ages. The modal age was thirteen years with 21.5% of the children in this group. The New York group of 103 were, in general, younger and more evenly distributed. Their distribution is bi-modal with seven and nine year groups including 13.6% of the total. The southern Illinois group of 153 more nearly resembled the New York than the Milwaukee group. The modal age is seven including 14.4%. For the entire number (414) four age groups predominated, the seven year olds with 10.9%; the nine year olds with 10.1%; the twelve year olds with 10.4%; and the thirteen year olds with 11.4%. A total of 69% (286) fall within the age range seven through fourteen. In the range from ten to fourteen, the age most likely to include delinquents, there were 50.7% (210) of the children.

The sex division was nearly equal in each of the three areas with a total of 204 (49.3%) boys and 210 (50.7%) girls.

The child's position in the family was as follows: 108 (26.1%) the only child; 110 (26.5%) the youngest; 69 (16.7%) the in-between child; and 127 (30.7%) the oldest.

The number of children in the family follows fairly closely to the national averages with 26.1% of the families of the study having one child; 37.2% two children; 23.9% three children; 7.0% four children; and 5.8% more than four. The largest family had twelve children the child of the study being the youngest.

School grade placement ranged from thirteen (3.2%) in kindergarten to eight (1.9%) in college with 146 (35.4%) in grades one through four; 177 (42.6%) in grades five through eight; and seventy (16.9%) in high school.

General Environment. In the matter of home ownership the areas studied varied considerably. The urban areas of Milwaukee and New York showed 45% of the families renting and 55% owning while in the rural and small town area of southern Illinois 32.7% rented and 67.3% owned.

The number of rooms in these homes varied widely with four families each living in two rooms and six families in twelve rooms or more, the largest home having fourteen rooms. Of the total number of homes 55.3% had five rooms or six. The number of rooms and the number of persons in the family were by no means proportionate for in many cases large families lived in small homes and small families in large homes.

Relatives lived in 26.6% of the homes of the 158 Milwaukee children; in 22.3% of the New York homes; and in 19.0% of the southern Illinois ones. Relatives were usually grandparents but sometimes uncle or aunt.

Of the 414 children 203 (49.0%) shared a room with a brother, sister, aunt, uncle, grandparent or parent, while

211 (51.0%) had their own rooms.

In each of the three areas the neighborhood environment was described variously ranging from "so poor we wish we could move" to "all anyone could ask." Description of neighbors varied similarly from "people you want to stay away from" to "neighbors who understand and like children."

Parental background. The ages of parents at the birth of the child were as follows: 15.9% of the mothers and 5.5% of the fathers were 16-21 years; 41.3% of the mothers and 30.7% of the fathers were 22-27 years; 28.7% of the mothers and 35.4% of the fathers were 28-33 years; 11.7% of the mothers and 19.2% of the fathers were 34-39 years; 2.1% of the mothers and 6.3% of the fathers were 40-45 years; and .3% of the mothers and 2.9 of the fathers were over 45 years.

Nationality background varied so widely as to preclude any significant grouping. In the Milwaukee group 10.1% of the parents were foreign born; in the New York group 14.8%; and in southern Illinois only .4% were born out-

side the United States. Two of the children in the southern Illinois group were foreign born, the father dead and mother married to a G. I. Only 5.1% of the Milwaukee parents were from families who had lived in United States six generations or more as compared to 15.0% of the New York group and 57.1% of the southern Illinois group.

Formal education of the parents offers little clue as to what caused the good adjustment of their children for it varies greatly. As one might expect, the terminal points of our educational system were the peaks of the highest grade in school finished by the total 782 parents, with 14.6% finishing eighth grade; 36.4% the twelfth grade; and 11.1% four years of college. Six of the parents (2.8%) failed to go beyond the third grade while twenty-six (3.3%) had eighteen years or more of formal education.

Occupations of the fathers were classified as follows: unskilled 9.6%; semi-skilled 10.1%; skilled 28.3%; supervisory and management 8.9%; administrative 3.9%; sales 6.8%; owners of own business 10.6%; and the professions 21.8%. Milwaukee showed a preponderence in the skilled group which is not surprising considering that this type of industry predominates there. New York and southern Illinois groups were about equally divided between skilled occupations and the professions.

Of the mothers eighty-two (19.8%) were employed outside of the home with the following breakdown for the three areas—Milwaukee 19.1% (29); New York 20.4% (21); southern Illinois 20.9% (32).

Yearly income at the birth of the child varied with nine-teen reporting less than \$500 and twelve over \$8000. The income bracket \$2000 to \$3000 yearly contained the greatest number with 27.0% (102) of the total. Yearly income at the time of the study had risen considerably with only four reporting less than \$1500 and sixty-one reporting over \$8000. Incomes of \$3000 to \$4000 were reported by ninety-six (25.5%).

It is evident that the environmental factors here reported are so widely varied as to offer little help in revealing the causative factors of good adjustment. This was the case when the first report was made on the Milwaukee group and the addition first of the New York group and now of the southern Illinois makes no change.

Part II. Parent Accounts

Here, as in the first report, parent statements are treated in descriptive rather than statistical form lest some variation in point of view or individuality of expression be lost in the generality of figures. Since the statements of parents in the Milwaukee and New York areas are reported in detail in the book, "These Well-Adjusted Children" major attention is given here to the statements of the parents of the southern Illinois area with comparative reference to those preceding.

Type of Home and Child. The statements of the parents from the southern Illinois area contain fewer references than either of the more urban groups to limited outdoor play space though crowded living conditions are frequently mentioned here as in the other areas. Here, too, were trailer homes, homes owned and homes rented, homes in apartments and in houses. There were broken homes, step parents, foster parents, homes with one parent and homes where children were in the care of grandparents or other relatives.

In the southern Illinois group of 153 children, four were adopted; eight had a step father; two had a step mother; two were being reared by grandparents with one parent coming and going. Of these latter the mother of one was in a mental institution, the mother of the other was unmarried and the father unknown. In addition to these there were eight living with one parent only, three because of divorce, five because of death.

Totaling the figures for the 414 children, one finds seven who were adopted, seventeen where a step-parent had taken the place of an own parent (fourteen step fathers and three step mothers) and fifteen living with one parent only because of separation or death.

Apparently the homes were happy places. Parents spoke again and again of the importance to the child's good adjustment of their being so, "a place where the children feel they belong just as much as we do," where "Children get their ideas about life and how to live it," a place, as one mother said, "where we are all happier than anywhere else." These homes, like those in the other areas had their problems. In one the mother was in a mental institution and the four children were being cared for by the paternal grandparents with such help as the father "who seemed to have lost his courage" could give. In another there was watchful care for a younger child because of injuries from a fall but, said the mother, "we keep things happy and never let the children know we are anxious." In some homes there was financial strain. In one of these the father said, "He has an allowance when we have the money but when we don't, he knows it and understands."

As one reads the parents' descriptions of their children it sounds as if the southern Illinois children are much like those in the Milwaukee and New York City groups-"the happiest child imaginable," "sees the fun in everything," "enthusiastic about anything he does," "never at a loss for something to do," "always trying to make a joke about something," and, said one father about his son, "He is a strong character, so strong that sometimes he has been hard to handle." That last comment was typical of those made by some of the other parents, for these were no nambypamby, goody-goody children. Such comments as the following were frequently made—"Always has had to have a firm hand but is a good kid," "used to have pouty spells but has learned it doesn't pay," "has his ups and downs but means all right," "gets on the bossy side too often but is learning better,"-and so on.

Some parents spoke of their surprise at having their child selected as being well adjusted. One said, "We knew it but

we didn't know other people thought so, too." To some the selection came not only as a great satisfaction but as a welcome encouragement. One mother said, "My in-laws never have approved of the way we have brought up our children. Maybe this will convince them—I hope." The agreement that the children were well adjusted did not mean, however, that they were without faults, nor that the parents were oblivious to them. There were numerous accounts of temper tantrums "that are disappearing," of "a spell of untruthfulness" that the mother said "seems to be imagination working overtime and we are getting it straightened out," and there was the story of one boy who did such a good job of collecting for the March of Dimes that he appropriated part of the funds to purchase a knife which he was promptly made to return.

Discipline. The statements of the southern Illinois parents made it clearly evident that the good adjustment of these children was not left to chance—the parents did something about it just as in the Milwaukee and New York groups. They spoke of discipline, of their ideas about what it should accomplish and of the methods they used. However, anyone hoping for a formula, a pattern, or one answer as to what to do is doomed to disappointment for there were as many ways of doing as there were families represented and more, for even within a family the parents did not always agree. There were those who believed in "spanking and doing it thoroughly." Others maintained that "Spanking never did anyone any good." One said, "Spanking hurts me worse than it does him so we don't do it," and another, "We are the only ones who get any good out of the spanking so we quit." Some told of their belief that most punishment could be prevented and bespoke their confidence in their children's acceptance of what had to be done once it was understood and said one, "It certainly takes eternal explaining but it pays." Over and again in these accounts, as in those from the Milwaukee and New York areas, parents presented a point of viv v of discipline as

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something much more significant and far-reaching than merely the external application of means designed to deter children from wrong doing.³

Responsibilities and Routine. These were mentioned by many of the parents as being significant factors in the good adjustment of their children but there was little similarity or agreement in the routine pictured or the responsibilities described. Some children were given regular responsibility which "had to be done before there can be any playing." Others had, as one mother said, "...enough to do with school and glee club and teen age club and practicing," and another, "She can wait until what she does will really be some help." Between the extremes of regularly assigned "must be done" duties and none at all lay a great variety of practices, the significant point being that well-adjusted children resulted from them all.

Closely related is the matter of money responsibility and again there was little agreement either in practice or point of view. Just as in the Milwaukee and New York City areas some parents believed in allowances and some did not, so some children had them and some did not. Some parents who believed in them told of being unable financially to provide them, and one said, "When we have, he has, and when we don't, he doesn't-we take it together either the have or the have not." Some from well-to-do homes had "...ample allowances, for they must learn to handle money," and others had, "...the same as their friends and playmates, for money is not the important thing." Some children were paid for doing home chores because parents believed "They should work for what they get." Others were not because parents believed, "It is all part of the family responsibility."

Equally as wide variation is shown in the family routine of the southern Illinois group as in the Milwaukee and New

³A complete recounting of the parents' statements relative to discipline will be found in the forthcoming book "The Discipline of Well Adjusted Children" to be published by the John Day Company, Spring 1952.

York City accounts. Here, too, there were children who had to "go to bed on the stroke of eight no matter what," and others who "go at a regular time unless there is something going on," and still others who "go when it seems convenient—we never pay much attention to just when it is." Many of the parents told of the children's just accepting the family routine as a matter of course because "That's the way we like to live and that's that!" With so great a variation in practice and in point of view one can only conclude that the determining factor in good adjustment lies elsewhere than in outward pattern of routine or responsibility.

Religion played a vital part in the rearing of many of the children in the southern Illinois group just as in the Milwaukee and New York City groups. And as in those groups, here, too, were parents represented by the father who said, "We take no stock in religion," and a mother who said, "We don't go ourselves but we send the children to Sunday School because a little religion is good for anyone." For the most part the southern Illinois group were churchgoing families, representing a variety of religious beliefs, though not so wide a range as in either of the other areas. Those mentioned most frequently were Baptist, Catholic, Christian, Church of God, Methodist, and Presbyterian. Here, too, there were mixed Protestant-Catholic marriages though a much lower percentage than in either of the other areas. Some parents spoke of their belief that children should make their own choice of church to attend and others told of religious observance being a family affair in which all participated. One mother said, "Our religion means a lot to us. I don't know how we could have raised them without it," and another said, "Religion is something to live by," and still another, "Every child has a right to spiritual values and that comes from your religion." The question has frequently been raised in relation to the Milwaukee and New York City groups and may be similarly raised with relation to the southern Illinois group as to what those who spoke thus variously meant by the word "religion." No authoritative answer can be given but by implication it appears that the word has for the parents a variety of connotations ranging from "...going to church and getting it done with," as one put it to, "...a deep and abiding belief in God as Love which colors everything we do," as another worded it. Throughout the accounts there were many comments relating to deep spiritual values and to high moral and ethical standards which the speakers did not designate as religion though many may feel that such comments rightfully fall into that category. For purposes of reporting, only those comments named by the speakers as religion were so classified.

Recreation and family doings together. These played a big part in the lives of the well-adjusted children in southern Illinois just as in the lives of those in the Milwaukee and New York City groups. There was mention of time spent in reading together, in enjoyment of radio and television, of picnics and fishing, of time spent with relatives and friends, of enjoyment of school affairs. In the southern Illinois area frequent mention was made of family "trips to the city" for shopping, for shows, for the zoo, the nearest city being St. Louis, a hundred odd miles away. Apparently the distance was little obstacle, for trips there were spoken of casually and seemed to be of common occurrence.

In each of the areas parents told of the family enjoyment of sports, baseball, basketball, football, and the like, of attendance at concerts, visits to museums and art galleries, of going to movies together — all with varying emphasis on what the family most enjoyed. More significant than what they did seems the fact that in the southern Illinois group, just as in the Milwaukee and New York groups, they wanted to do things together — they thought it important that they should do things together — and they enjoyed the doing. One said, "We have lots of fun together as a family — we dance and play cards and sing and sometimes we cook a big meal of everything we all especially like," and

another, "We like to do things together — we listen to the radio programs and discuss them, and we go on picnics and fishing and do we ever have fun together." Still another said, "We have fun together if it's only popping corn and laughing at our own jokes and we read a lot," and another, "We go to the movies on Saturday afternoon with the boys because we like cowboy pictures ourselves and anyway we want to watch the type of movies they are seeing." There were vacations together, too, "Because," said one mother, "we all have more fun together than we do separately," and another said, "We plan our vacation from one year to the next and I don't know which is more fun, the vacation or the planning." One mother revealed very clearly her feeling about the family doings together when she said, "We do a lot of driving around because we love scenery and every summer we go camping. I don't like to camp much but the rest do and I can put up with whatever keeps us together."

Many parents spoke of wanting to do things together but still of giving the children plenty of opportunity to be on their own. Even while there were homes where family doings together were fewer than in others it seems significant that in one way or another, every account made some mention of belief in the importance of parents and children . . . "feeling they belong together," . . . "acting as a family unit," . . . "hanging together for fun and trouble," . . . "being the family we are," as various ones worded it.

Family relationships and attitude toward the child have

been revealed in part in comments already quoted.

Parent descriptions of their relationships to each other show, "complete agreement on all essential matters," "no differences so far as she knows," "sometimes we just don't see eye to eye," "plenty of arguments about how to raise him but nothing else," "just enough fussing not to be too monotonous," and so on. The picture one gets from the accounts is of harmonious living even though parents spoke of differences of opinion. Obviously they found ways of resolving these differences or of so living with them that

they did not interfere with the good adjustment of the children.

Basic relationships between child and one parent or the other are typified by such statements as "When his father is home he is just his shadow," "She and her father go for long walks and he tells her everything she asks about," "He loves to help me with the shopping and I make him think I couldn't do it without him," "She is crazy about both of us but in different ways," "He and his dad are pals, he and I love each other but are not the pals he and his dad are." One mother said, "We all understand each other and make allowances for our not being perfect." Another said. "Children fill a need in the family and ours know they do and it helps us understand each other when things go wrong." Apparently they sometimes did go wrong for parents told of family emergencies, of times when the children as one said, "Don't think because we love them they still don't get into our hair for they do and plenty, too."

All of the parent accounts show forth the basic relationships and the attitudes toward the children which these parents pointed to as being, in their opinion, the basic factors in the children's good adjustment. They put it variously in such comments as these, "Love is the biggest thing you can give a child," "We feel you have to appreciate them and believe in them, and we do," "When you give out the right kind of love you get the children's love in return and you are all the better for it," "They were planned, we wanted them, and they know it," "You have to trust children if you want them to amount to anything," "Our children are taught to respect us but we respect them, too." One mother said, "To sum the whole thing up, we think love, security, and good home life can be counted on to produce well-adjusted children." Another said. "We have a lot of fun with the boys; we love them beyond words, and if I could choose one thing beyond all else for them it would be that they marry and be as happy in their home life as we are and I think that's why they are well-adjusted." Still

another said, "Children need a lot of love and attention and then other things work out."

In one account after another, the parents in this southern Illinois group named the underlying feelings toward a child and the basic family relationships resulting therefrom as being, in their opinion, the determinants of good adjustment. They made it amply clear that they did not rely on these feelings and attitudes alone to produce the good adjustment — they did things about it — actively, vigorously, purposefully, but what they did and the way they did it varied so widely as to give added significance to their statements that they believed the underlying feelings to be the causative factor rather than either the procedures or the methods.

In this they were in full agreement with both the Milwaukee and New York groups whose viewpoint it may be recalled was summed up in the words of the father who said, "But most important of all is loving them and letting them know it, thinking of them as people and treating them so, appreciating what they do and trusting them and telling them so, and above all letting them know they are wanted."

Summary

The findings of this study lend themselves to many different interpretations with resultant variations in conclusions and generalizations. It has, therefore, seemed advisable to present the material in reportorial form and leave the interpretation thereof together with the drawing of conclusions and the statement of generalizations to individual readers, each of whom will read and interpret in light of his individual experience and thinking.

To some, the diversity of family pattern will be the significant feature bringing deepened awareness of similar diversities among other groups. To others, the parents' constant holding the good in their children up to view may seem of importance suggesting anew the far reaching possibilities of recognizing and building on strength. To

others, the family solidarity and close knit family unity portrayed may bring reassurance. Some may see the parents' active "bringing up" of their children as very significant. Some may find the parents' enjoyment of their children and their satisfaction in being parents not only reassuring but heartening and refreshing. To some, the emphasis of the parents on the importance of underlying feelings of love and trust and appreciation considered in conjunction with the divergent practices all resulting in well-adjusted children may be the high spot in the findings. To some parents presently engaged in bringing up their children there may be reassurance, comfort, and encouragement in finding that so many different ways of doing all resulted in good adjustment, while to others, the fact that there seemed to be no one answer, may be disappointing.

In any event, there is impetus for discussion in all the variations of external conditions under which the families lived, in the diversity of the family living patterns, in the agreement on underlying feelings as of major importance, in the statements of basic philosophy and varying points of view.

Some Questions Answered

With a study such as this it is to be expected that many questions would arise. Those most often asked are answered below:

1. Are these well-adjusted children typical of a large segment of the child population?

We cannot say. We can only say that they were typical enough of the children in the schools from which they were selected that the teachers and principals said they could easily have given the names of many more.

2. Can this be considered a sufficient sampling to justify the conclusion that parents of other well-adjusted children would agree with these parents on the causative factors of good adjustment at least in principle? Again we cannot say. The only claim is that what the parents of these 414 children said has been accurately reported. It is to be hoped that other persons will undertake similar studies with groups in other areas.

3. Are the parents of these children well adjusted themselves?

There was no attempt to gather data on this point. Some may take it as evidence of some measure of good adjustment that they spoke so often of the enjoyment of their children, that they told of their satisfaction in family living, that they told of taking family problems in stride, etc. At any rate, whatever difficulties they may have had themselves they were rearing children alleged to be well-adjusted.

4. What kind of childhood did these parents have?

This question was not asked but information was often given. Some spoke of happy joyous childhood days and others of a childhood so unhappy that they determined their own children would be brought up differently.

5. Were all of the children in the family equally well adjusted?

For the most part it appears that they were. Several parents insisted on giving information about all of the children because they said all were equally well adjusted and they did not wish to single out one for special attention. Some, however, said that one or another of the others was not so well adjusted.

6. Have these well-adjusted children always been so?

Apparently a large majority have been but not all. A few parents told of earlier periods of poor adjustment which had had to be worked out of.

7. Were these children really well adjusted or were they perhaps covering up inner conflict with outward good adjustment?

One can only say that in the opinion of their teachers

who selected them in light of the eight-point criteria they were well adjusted and this opinion was confirmed by the parents with enough supporting evidence given in the interviews that there was no question in the minds of the writers except about one and that case was thrown out. The children did have their disturbances, their disappointments, their ups and downs.

8. Where did these parents get their ideas about bringing up children?

No inquiry was made on this point but some spoke of having had a High School course in Child Care or a college course in Psychology; some spoke of reading books on child rearing, of going to meetings, of seeking help from those more experienced than they. Some professed as one put it to "taking no stock at all in child psychology" and some said that they relied on "old-fashioned common sense." A majority made no mention of the source of their ideas.

9. Do the diversified patterns of family living all resulting in well-adjusted children mean that it does not really matter how children are brought up, that one way of doing is as good as another?

It may be pointed out that while the patterns of living were diversified these children were not being brought up in any hit and miss fashion. The parents according to their accounts were doing what they did thoughtfully and purposefully and as it seemed good to them. May the diversity not mean that each had taken out of all they saw, read, heard, that which best fitted their own thinking and experience and so wove the fabric of their own family pattern?

10. Does the success of these parents, arrived at in such different ways yet all successful, mean that all the parent education going on over the years has been futile—that instead one may safely rely on the feelings

of love and trust and appreciation and wanting the children to carry the day for good adjustment?

May it not be, on the contrary, that the dissemination of knowledge during the last quarter century about what is good for children, that the continued emphasis on children's need for being wanted and loved and understood, that the practical suggestions for rearing set forth in more and more of the current literature through the years, has taken root, taken such deep root, indeed, as to be looked upon as "commonsense?"

And one final question—will these children still be well-adjusted in five years, in ten? The writers wonder too. Plans are being considered for the follow-up necessary to answer that question. Meanwhile it seems safe to assume that the good adjustment to date has already served a useful purpose and that inevitably it will make its contribution to the living in the years to follow.

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THE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY OF RECONSTRUCTIONISM

Richard D. Mosier

1. The School as Social Vanguard

In recent years a new form of progressivism has arisen under the name of reconstrutionism, and this new variety of the progressivist philosophy conceives its task to be to consolidate the achievements of its parent while furthering and extending its basic philosophy. In this character it represents the educational philosophy of utopian socialism, and pushes the theory of the relation of school and society to such an extreme as must give us pause. Now there had always been an element of "social vanguardism" in the progressivist philosophy, but it had largely restrained itself to assisting a presupposed social evolution by building the school program around the day by day experiences of children, and with the aim of developing for them sound methods of inquiry and techniques of problem-solving. But progressivism largely confined itself to problems of experimental design in the problem-solving activities upon which it centered, and hence its chief contribution came to be regarded as methodological.

Meantime, however, the reconstructionist theory has arisen, and while honoring the techniques of exploration and inquiry which progressivism had developed, it chastizes its parent for its necessary vagueness about the ends for which inquiries were to be carried on. Now as educational philosophy is first of all a social philosophy, reconstructionism undertook to emphasize the latent "vanguardism" of progressive education by its conception of the school as social vanguard was intended to emphasize that the school should lead society in the development of bold cultural designs for

¹Theodore Brameld, Patterns of Educational Philosophy, 508-700. New York, 1950.

the future, not only by inculcating in students the sense of the urgency of such designs, but by developing adequate materials and methods for group concensus on the question, "Where do we as a people want to go?" This question was to be central to the learning process, to curriculum design, and to the control of the educative process, and was to eventuate in two foci of a reconstructed education—first, the problem of creating utopian cultural designs; and second, the problem of enlisting a majority consensus in the active reconstruction of society.

In brief, basic to the vanguardism of the reconstructionist is the notion that the school is a kind of repair shop to which the social machine should be sent whenever it breaks down; or, more broadly, that the educative process is identical with the group process by which a community of persuasion is developed for the reconstruction of itself. "Education becomes increasingly a term for the cooperative methods and objectives by which the widest possible majority of the people, young and old, actively unite in behalf of the domestic and world order they can agree upon.2 The vanguardism of the reconstructionist presupposes, then, that the school should lead society, be the social vanguard, in the task of reconstruction. This theory of the relation of the school to society, however, makes the part greater than the whole; so that while society decays, the school actively seeks to reconstruct it, without respect to the fact that it is one of the decaying institutional parts of the decaying social whole. In brief, the school is abstracted from society in order to reach the high level upon which its work is contemplated, and this development is in fact identical with what is meant by educational utopianism.

Similarly, in its conception of the control of education, a broad utopianism marks the path which the reconstructionist wishes to take. Conceiving the work of the teacher, student, and community through the broad spectrum of ideology and utopia, reconstructionism requires that the

²Ibid., 524.

school educate the community with respect to the distinction between the ideological and utopian articulations of the culture. But it wishes through its utopian orientation to dissect the fallacies of the ideology of the community, and to reveal these both to students and to teachers, who are equally engaged in an unconscious ideological support of the established order.³ Thus it is imagined that by building a spectrum of ideology-utopia, through which the prismed differences of the ideological rationalization and the utopian promise are reflected, the community will soon persuade itself of the wisdom of the reconstructionist mode of reconstruction, and give itself over to an articulation of the sovereign will of the group mind.⁴

In projecting a design for the reconstructed control of education, reconstructionism is equally utopian. It believes that policy formulation and planning can be articulated through social consensus, as a revelation of the rank and file control of education and of the majority will. It conceives the need for a broader representation of all classes of the community through school boards, and also a widened participation in the school itself. This participation of students, teachers, administrators, and community representatives in the policy making and planning functions of the school will lend itself to a reconstructed theory of discipline.6 Noting that the progressivist conception of discipline involved the notion of individual self-discipline, the reconstructionist proclaims a new "social discipline", a discipline of the majority reached through group concensus. "Discipline in this perspective becomes the agreed upon acceptance of orderly procedures through which groups unite in systematic efforts to articulate and to attain their goals." By the same token, its point of departure is not so much the individual differences of students, though these are recognized, but the similarities and common capacities of men.8

³Ibid., 625-627.

⁴Ibid., 622-632.

⁵ Ibid., 634-635.

⁶Ibid., 643-646.

⁷ Ibid., 643.

⁸Ibid., 647.

With these premises the reconstructionist hopes to organize the profession for democratic power through an 'alliance with forces of expansion," that is, with organized labor. Reconstructionism sees the need of a united, purposeful labor movement, and the need also, of the development of educational trade unionism. 10 In the current struggle of communism and capitalism, the reconstructionist sees the "forces of contraction", by which the reconstructionist apparently means capitalism, as the chief ally of communism.11 Then reconstructionism presents in serried array the necessity of an alliance between the organized teaching profession and the organized trade union movement, and hopes, with this powerful alliance, to reconstruct society nearer the heart's desire.12 The reconstructionist would thus appear to have as his chief aim the reconstruction of society. and as his chief instrument, the school and its attendant profession, which are a part of society.

2. The Theory of Learning

In its theory of learning, reconstructionism conceives of learning as social self-realization.13 It regards philosophies as interpretations of culture, and educational philosophies as theories of cultural change; hence, it focuses on the problem of adequate social and educational purposes, and presupposes that these are not already supplied by the experienced relations of society.14 In the reconstructionist theory of learning, therefore, learning is taken to be a normative as well as descriptive process, and is thus concerned with purposeful, goal-seeking activities of intelligent minded organisms. The reconstructionist points to "increasing evidence" that learning is a "striving for expression, for fulfillment," through the functioning of the organism as it lives in a society of other organisms, so that human beings are conceived to be motivated by an overlapping field of wants, needs, and satisfactions. It follows that "the ade-

⁹Ibid., 669-671.

¹⁰ Ibid., 671-672.

¹¹ Sic., 675.

¹² Ibid., 679.

¹³Ibid., 527-568.

¹⁴ Ibid., 529.

quacy of any program of learning is measured by the extent to which all the constituent values enter into the total meaning of social self-realization, not merely some of them."¹⁵

The reconstructionist indicates his divergence from classical progressivism by emphasizing that all values are integrated in every genuine learning experience, which is to say, that all values enter into the reconstruction of values which results from learning. It is suggested that learning "is prehensive" as well as apprehensive, that prehensions of organic, unified, feeling-situations enter into and constitute the material for a subsequent apprehending of experience.16 This note is supported, the reconstructionist argues, by the functional psychology of progressivism, by Gestalt psychology, and by the concept of "the whole child." In brief, it is the field of forces, of wants, needs, desires, and satisfactions, which furnishes the motivating situation of learning activities. "Every experience that is genuinely educative, moreover, flows toward the satisfaction of wants, each of which possesses not only its own qualitative and harmonious unity but fuses with satisfaction of other wants in a still more inclusive 'field'."17

In the confusion of wants, purposes, and desires, the congenital defect of a "crisis-culture," the reconstructionist wants to serve as a "physician to our maladjusted culture." Hence, he has built this messianic mission into his theory of learning, and employs the concepts of ideology and utopia to emphasize the distinction between the articulated and rationalized purposes of society in ideology, and the idealization and sublimation of them in utopia. The concepts of ideology and utopia become tools, "capable of cutting through the dominant cultural patterns taught in the schools." With such tools, the reconstructionist believes, the confusion and conflict engendered by frustration and

¹⁵ Ibid., 533.

¹⁶ Ibid., 534.

¹⁷ Ibid., 534.

^{1010., 334.}

¹⁸ Ibid., 537.

¹⁹ Ibid., 537.

aggression, the malady of the sick soul, can be extirpated by the physician in the learning process. In brief, an ordered clarity and understanding of values, purposes, and ideals will emerge from the learning process as it is conceived by the reconstructionist.

This in turn results from the conception of social consensus as process and product of learning. "Agreement about our goal-seeking interests is indispensable to whatever truth and value we can attribute to them," argues the reconstructionist.²⁰ For the reconstructionist, therefore, truth and value do not exist absolutely, but only as the process and product of groups making up their minds. The group mind is both ends and means of education, accordingly, and the learning process cannot be defined aside from this process. The problem-solving of the progressivist is thus given a group dimension, in which it should be realized, "that the only problems worth considering are those that reveal the effect of interruption between the seeking and fulfilling of goals which are themselves specifiable; and, second, to keep such goals always integral with the dominant national and international purposes of our time."21 Interest is the main concept of the reconstructionist—"interest that taps as many of the constituent values of social self-realization as possible, and hence provides the child or adult with a direct sense of his own nature through the sheer experience of continuous fulfillment of these values."22

Learning is conceived, therefore, within the ambit of group processes, and these, in their turn, suggest several facets through which the group makes up its mind about its values, goals, needs. Students learn, first of all, through communication; and hence, the reconstructionist introduces the concept of "the communicating classroom," so that group interests may be expanded and articulated.²³ Secondly, learning is conceived through the facet of group dynamics, so that the human group, conceived as an empirical phe-

²⁰ Ibid., 538.

²¹ Ibid., 539.

²²Ibid., 539.

²⁸ Ibid., 542-543.

nomena, becomes a field of forces. It seeks to change its character by studying itself as a group and by practicing resolutions of its internal conflicts; and in this respect, role-playing, sociodrama and psychodrama, and other devices become significant.²⁴ The group leader is conceived as mediator, who attempts to harmonize the divergent interplay of forces, while seeking a happy mean between autocratic and laissez-faire extremes of leadership. Group dynamics, then, becomes a methodological key for the reconstruction

of school and society.25

"Public education becomes itself a kind of 'group mind'." writes the reconstructionist, "a means of thinking and feeling its own way toward achievement of ends that bind its personnel as well as its curriculum together into an organic whole."26 Reconstructionism is thus raising the fundamental criticism of its progressivist parent, namely, for what end are problem-solving activities to be carried on? For reconstructionism, "learning through problem-solving occurs in the perspective of explicit normative objectives."27 In brief, social consensus is the key to reconstructionist method, and presupposes as its chief product what is called social self-realization, "Social self-realization, expressed in utopian cultural designs and implementations, is the supreme symbol of what is meant by product."28 It follows, also, that the goal of social self-realization presupposes the "product" will be a partisan in the disputes of the day, that he will be educated for defensible partiality.29 Thus the issue of indoctrination is raised again; but reconstructionism proposes that its "education for defensible partiality" should not be taken as indoctrination, for the objective is an "uncoerced school-community of persuasion." The only problem that would remain, then, would be to determine which of the classes of modern society is to be defended by this "education for defensible partiality," and what, if any-

²⁴ Ibid., 548-550.

²⁵ Ibid., 552.

²⁶ Ibid., 552.

²⁷ Ibid., 553.

²⁸Ibid., 555.

²⁹ Ibid., 558-562.

³⁰ Ibid., 566.

thing, is to result from this utopianism in the theory of learning.

3. The Curriculum Design

The reconstructionist design for the curriculum is consistent with its utopianism, and reflects in fact the progressivist theory of the "experience" curriculum carried to an extreme that must give us pause. Secondary education, by which is meant the last two years of traditional high school and the first two years of the traditional college, becomes the focus of the reconstructionist curriculum orientation. The pattern of curriculum design is conceived as one of general education and common learnings rather than the alternatives of college preparation and vocational training. The main purpose of the curriculum, then, is a goal-centered general education, which continually raises the question, "Where do we as a people want to go?" ""

The appropriate concept for such a curricular design is "the wheel curriculum," which exists as a reconstructionist modification of the progressivist core curriculum. There is to be, in the wheel curriculum, an alternation between general study of a central area and the particular study of a skill, content, or vocational area. Such a conception is likened to a "curricular Gestalt," in which there is a constant return to the central features and purposes of the curriculum, and similarly, a constant recognition of the general pattern in the particular phase of it singled out for special study. Again, the question pursued throughout this wheel curriculum is unrelenting, "Where do we as a people want to go?" "

The first year of the secondary school is devoted to two objectives: first, to provide motivation and orientation for the entire secondary program; and second, to examine the need for goals and their appropriate character, as these are required by "economic-political reconstruction." The mo-

³¹ Ibid., 570.

³² Ibid., 571.

³⁸ Ibid., 572.

³⁴ Ibid., 575.

³⁵ Ibid., 575.

tivation and orientation of the program is provided by beginning with John and Centerville, by beginning with the immediate and familiar, and subsequently moving outward from John and Centerville to the region, state, nation, and world.³⁶ With this motivation, the student is constantly confronted with the alternative, "the question of what would be better by comparison with what now is."³⁷ The whole first year, then, is regarded as "a quest of the normative," and climaxes with two desired outcomes: first, to regard any achieved consensus as relative to the normative consensus; and second, to provide a panoramic overview of large areas of life that should be studied during the remainder of the secondary school.³⁸

During the first year, then, the content is supplied to the curriculum primarily from two areas. The first of these is designated the "economic-political area." It begins with John and Centerville, that is with a study of the local community, and moves outward in ever-expanding arcs to embrace the world. Among the things discovered by John, however, is "the interlocking economy," after which it becomes necessary to search for an historical causative of this state of affairs. 50 Students soon discover the evolution from small business to "monopoly," and how this has affected the expansion and contraction of freedom. 40 They then move on to a consideration of the proposed programs of social reform, considering in their turn both fascism and communism, and their alternatives. 41 The acquired knowledge and consensus are then to be related to special areas of skill and vocational preparation.

In the second year of the reconstructionist school, the objectives are twofold: first, to specify the problems, methods, needs and goals of the area of science in its bearing on the guiding theme of the curriculum, namely, the problem of social reconstruction; and second, to accomplish the same

³⁶ Ibid., 576.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 577.

³⁸ Ibid., 579.

³⁰ Ibid., 580.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 581.

⁴¹ Sic., 583.

objective for the area of art. ⁴² In the science area, students would be expected to study the human meaning of science, i.e., its social function; and they should be brought to realize that science is primarily a methodology rather than a body of knowledge. ⁴³ In the art area, students would be learning the social function of art, and would consider its role in city planning, architecture, and related civic enterprises. They would learn how art is related to society, and how it becomes expressive of the confusions and conflicts of an age of crisis. ⁴⁴

In the third year, the old question is raised again, with respect to the areas of education and human relations. Education would be seen against its social background, and primarily in terms of its meaning for John and Centerville; the support, control, and policy-making involved in educational activities would be investigated in relation to the normative guides provided in reconstructionism. In the area of human relations, personal and family relations, sex relations, racial relations, the relations of nations, and those of economic classes would be investigated. These would be seen in the broad perspective of history, with due cause given to the offender, and with considerable attention to alternative social arrangements and institutions.

In the fourth year of this utopian school, the center of attention would shift, first, to the techniques and strategies of attaining the desired goals, and second, to a reconsideration of the major areas looking toward eventual synthesis. The importance of the means chosen would be enhanced by clarity about the ends to be achieved, while the means would constantly be re-examined and reformulated. The same time, if students should agree upon the major political principles of reconstructionism, they will conclude that means that violate policies legally authorized by the majority are immoral means — a conclusion separating them

⁴² Ibid., 586.

⁴³Sic., 587. ⁴⁴Ibid., 590-592.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 599-600.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 604.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 604-605.

from, for example, orthodox Marxism." The whole outcome of the reconstructionist curriculum design is accordingly to achieve a group consensus on the means and ends of a reconstruction of capitalist society, while avoiding the "immoral" means of fascism and communism.

The outcome of the curriculum design of reconstructionism indicates that it desires to guide social evolution in a preferred direction, so that its "education for defensible partiality" is indeed partial to the partisans of the classes which reconstructionism represents. Again, the outcome of the curriculum design, to effect a reconstruction of capitalist society without resort to the "immoral" means of fascism and communism, shows that when students are presented with the unrelenting question, "Where do we as a people want to go?" the reconstructionist teacher has already made up his mind. In truth, reconstructionism is the partisan of utopian socialism, and its "education for defensible partiality" is just as "defensible" as utopian socialism is. Moreover, the conception of group mind as ends and means is a bit of a deception when it is realized that the "group mind" is supposed to eventuate in a choice of the politics of reconstructionism. In brief, reconstructionism is the educational philosophy of utopian socialism, and represents, by virtue of the nature of its utopian vision, a reform of progressivist reformism.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 605.

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HIGH SCHOOL PUPILS REPORT THEIR FEARS

Gladys V. Noble S. E. Torsten Lund

One of the promising curriculum trends in senior high schools is the study of those aspects of sociology and social psychology which impinge directly on the pupil. Not only are the topics real in the "here, now and me" sense, but increasingly they are being studied in connection with materials that go beyond textbook presentation to consider actual situations and problems in the lives of the pupils. An illustration is furnished by the "sociology" students in a large metropolitan senior high school.

The material presented represents the pupils' reactions to two topics: "Emotions and Our Reaction to Them" and "How Our Culture Patterns Influence Our Behavior." In connection with the first topic, the 127 students were asked to list incidents or experiences, either in or out of school, which caused them to feel fearful, nervous, excitable or tense; and in connection with the second topic the pupils' reactions were obtained by an analysis of the answer to the question: "Give an example of a culture pattern which you think causes friction, unhappiness, fear or hostility in an individual or in a social group."

An analysis of the resulting material reveals the following causal factors which produce fear and resulting anxiety or hostility states. The results were grouped into categories which reflect the pupils' actual responses. From the large number of responses we have selected a sampling of pupils' quotations to illustrate their own interpretation of emotional responses to a variety of life situations.

Sources of Fear Reported by 127 High School Students

- 1. School tests. (34%)*
 - "Wondering what a test is going to be like."
 - "Taking time tests."
 - "Grieving over examinations that you considered a failure."
- 2. School grades. (31%)
 - "Worry about bad grades."
 - "Fear of disapproval of parents because you don't get a certain grade."
 - "You don't know how a teacher will grade you, so it's hard to do things well because you are under a strain."
- 3. Speeches or oral reports before a class. (25%)
 - "Stage fright."
 - "Fear of forgetting speech."
 - "My legs will hardly hold me up."
- 4. Class recitation. (24%)
 - "Fear of answering wrong."
 - "Being called on for something you don't know, or anticipating it."
 - "Your ability makes you afraid to compete with the rest of the class."
- 5. Teachers. (23%)
 - "Fear of being scolded by."
 - "Some seem to pick on you and embarrass you."
 - "The desire to be recognized by the teacher but not so much so that you are considered teacher's pet. The desire to be 'in' with the group, but not so much so as to lose the recognition of the teacher."
- 6. Report cards. (21%)
 - "The fear of bringing a bad card home when your sister or brother always seems to do better than you."
 - "Afraid of being taken out of some activity because of . . ."
 - "Tension before getting."
- 7. Athletic contests.† (17%)
 "Fear of not playing good."

^{*} Per cent of pupils.

[†] As a participant, 8%; as a spectator, 9%.

"Worrying about your team."

"Excitement before the game, and afterwards if you lose."

8. Parents. (16%)

"When my mother tells me before my friends that I have done something wrong."

"Fear of not coming up to the standards set by my parents."

"Parents got all A's and B's and expect me to do so."

9. Ridicule. (13%)

"Fear of studying too much because students might call you a grind."

"Fear of being laughed at because you do the wrong thing at the wrong time."

"Fear of doing something different."

10. Culture patterns. (11%)

"Because father still wants to be head of the family and make all decisions for wife and children."

"Parents brought up in certain way and insists you follow those old-fashioned rules and regulations."

"Some parents still think they must find the person for the daughter to marry." (Italian, Japanese.)

11. Minority groups. (11%)

"Some think minority groups don't have same standards as others and won't associate with them."

"Not being able to speak the same language."

"Certain religious groups."

12. Friendship and popularity. (11%)

"Fear of unpopularity."

"When I have a class with my latest crush."

"Lack of friends at school."

13. Dating. (9%)

"Worrying about a date-if a girl will go with you."

"I'm afraid I'll do something wrong."

"Getting a date for some important dance or party."

14. Social class. (8%)

"A person can't be with a group of people who are very different in their manners and ways because he will be uncomfortable."

"Haughty feeling many academic students have towards shop

boys, as not admitting them to their clubs."

"Snobbishness, catty and sarcastic to anyone who lives below Avenue. Not acceptable unless live in the hills."

15. Homework. (8%)

"Worrying about not having it done."

"I always have a guilty feeling when I haven't done my homework even if I have a good reason."

"Fear of leaving homework at home."

16. People. (8%)

"Fear of meeting people."

"Afraid to talk freely with adults because I feel they know so much more than I do."

"Being put in a group of strange people."

17. Authority or "the Office." (8%)

"When you get a note to see a teacher or adviser and don't know whether you have done wrong or right."

"Getting called into counselor's or principal's office."

"Waiting to ask a question of a counselor and afraid to."

18. Specific school requirements. (7%)

"Experiments in laboratory—fear that something might happen."

"Being examined by the school doctor."

"Singing in front of people."

19. Non-athletic extra-class activities. (6%)

"Waiting to see results of elections."

"After having tried out for, or having been in student activities."

"Worrying about 'Variety' practice causes me restless nights when I can't sleep thinking of it."

20. Tardiness. (6%)

"Getting into class on time."

"Getting to school in time."

Each of the following categories included responses from less than 5 per cent of the pupils: school classes, "getting into trouble," school clubs, clothes and dress, money, competition with others, insufficient time, girls, jobs, etc.

Quite apart from the instructional value which accrues to the pupils when they are encouraged to apply the "sociology" course to their own lives and experiences, it is apparent that the results are valuable to educators. Even though the results indicate that the pupils are not able to differentiate their fears and anxieties, what they express is highly indicative to the teacher. If our schools aim at something besides assisting the intellectual development of youth, we need to be much more sensitive to and informed on the emotional and social context of the pupils' lives. Even a cursory examination of the "fear" categories listed shows that many of them are school determined and caused. Note that tests, school marks, class recitation, teachers and report cards rank highest, suggesting that as educators we should carefully study our school and teaching procedures to determine what could be done to lessen tension and fear and to assist boys and girls to achieve a feeling of security.

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MEASURING THE SOCIAL-CLASS STATUS OF NEGRO CHILDREN IN THE ELEMENTARY AND HIGH SCHOOL

Walter I. Murray

Instruments intended to measure a characteristic of the individual must of necessity recognize the influence of several variables. More specifically, an index which seeks to place individuals of a given society in groups which differ in characteristic diagnostic traits of social-class status must provide for the measurement of these traits. In examining some of the most commonly used instruments and their criteria of social status one finds them inadequate as measures of social class of the Negro. Table I shows an analysis of eight such instruments.

TABLE I
Measures of Socio-Economic Status

Measure	Reference	Characteristics
(1)		
Taussig's	Taussig, F. W. Principles of economics. 2d ed. Vol. II. New York: Macmillan, 1915, Pp. 576.	Defines five social classes which are essentially "non-competing economic groups." 1. Day laborers. 2. Unskilled workers occupations. 3. Skilled workmen. 4. Lower middle, clerical, and semi-intellectual. 5. Well-to-do, professional, businessmen, and managers.
(2)		agers.
Barr Scale	Terman, L. M., Baldwin, Bronson, B. T., et al. Genetic Studies of Genius. Vol. I Mental and Physical Traits of a Thousand Gifted Children, p. 897. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1925. Pp. 668.	1. Barr drew up list of 121 representative occupations with descriptions and ratings of each, and had 20 judges to rate them according to the intelligence demanded by the occupations.
	Stanford University	the o

Measure	· Reference	Characteristics
(3)		
Minnesota	Goodenough, F.L., and	1. Based on Taussig's, Barr
Scale of	Anderson, J.E. Ex-	Scale, and list of occupa-
Occupational	perimental Child	tions in U.S. Census.
Classification	Study. New York: D.	Seven groups:
	Appleton-Century,	1. Professional.
	1931. Pp. 546.	2. Semi-professional and
	•	managerial.
		3. Clerical, skill trades,
		business
		4. Rural owners.
		5. Semi-skilled.
		6. Slightly skilled.
		7. Day laborers, rural,
		and urban.
4)		
Whittier	Williams, I.H., "The	Total Scores on 5 Factors
Scale for	Whittier Scale for	1. Necessities.
Grading Home	Grading Home Condi-	2. Neatness.
Conditions	tions," Journal of	3. Size.
	Delinquency, I (1916),	4. Parental conditions.
	273-86.	5. Parental supervision,
		each graded from 1-5
		after visit to home
	* *	and with parent.
5)		
Chapin and	Chapin, F.S., "A	A rating of the furnishings
Sims Scale	Quantitative Scale	of the living room.
Living Room	for Rating the Home	or the living room
Equipment	and Social Environ-	
Rating Scale	ment of Middle-Class	
itating State	Families in an Urban	
	Community," Journal	
	of Educational Psy-	
	chology, XIX (1928),	
	99-111.	
6)	,	
Sims Score	Chapman, J.C., and	A questionnaire concerning
Card for	Sims, U.M. "The	the cultural, economic, educa
Socio-	Quantitative Measure-	tional, and occupational,
Economic	ment of Certain As-	status of the family to be
Status	pects of Socio-Eco-	filled out by the child.
	nomic Status," Journal	
	of Educational Psy-	
	chology, XVI (1925),	
	380-90.	

Measure	Reference	Characteristics
(7)		
University of	Baley, N., and Jones,	Consists of weighted averages
California	H. E. "Environmental	of the following factor:
Socio-	Correlates of Mental	1. Family income.
Economics Index	and Motor Develop- ment." A study from	2. Years of schooling of mother.
	Infancy to 6 years, Child Development,	3. Years of schooling of father.
	VIII (1937), 329-41.	4. Taussig rating of occu- pation.
		5. A composite rating of home, living room, and neighborhood.
(0)		neighborhood.
(8)		
Leahy's Min- nesota Home	Leahy, A.M. Measure- ment of Urban Home	A home status profile con- sisting of sigma scores on
Status Index	Environment. Minne- apolis: University of	six indices relating to chil- dren's facilities, economic
	Minnesota Press, 1936. Pp. 70.	status, cultural status, so- ciality, occupational status, and educational status.

*It will be observed: (1) that three of them (1, 2, 3) rate the individuals solely on one economic trait, namely, occupation; (2) that one (5) uses the condition of the living room as a measure of middle-class status; (3) that one measures social status by means of a questionnaire filled out by the child (6); (4) that one utilizes what is called scores on factors which determine home conditions (4); (5) that one employs a weighted average of several socio-economic factors (7); and (6) that one which is probably the best of the group makes use of several indices to measure home environment (8).

The inadequacy of these instruments for measuring the social class of the Negro caste arises from the fact that they fail to take into account some of the most important factors upon which social class, as more recent workers define it, is predicated, namely, association and associational groups. Moreover, they emphasize largely occupational status. The general fallacy of using occupation as the sole index of social-class status and culture is even more dan-

gerous in studying Negro samples. For example, a carpenter often has middle-class status and culture in a Negro society. On the other hand, he usually would have a lower status in a white society. Education as a sole index also has serious inadequacies when applied to Negro samples. For example, a great many Negroes in middle-class culture have had no more than an eighth grade education. These examples are representative of some of the limitations imposed by caste as it relates to the Negro.

In the past ten years a great deal of systematic work has been done with a view to stratify the population of American communities, so far principally the white caste. The work of Warner¹ has been followed by a number of similar studies by others, among which are Davis and Gardner² in the deep South, Janke and Havighurst³ in the midwest, and Drake and Cayton⁴ in Chicago, have been, perhaps the most conspicuous.

The essence of the method employed by all these social anthropologists is to study the relationship between an individual and other persons in his community with respect to social position. As a result, they are able to define empirically the system of social stratification in our society as is apparent in the individual judgements of the members of the community, rather than as the social scientist ranks the individuals.

The techniques of social-class stratification described in the following were devised by the author when he conducted the first in a series of researches dealing with cultural influences upon intelligence tests and upon intelligence-test

¹W. L. Warner and Paul S. Lunt, Social Life of a Modern Community, p. 82. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941,

²Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, Deep South, p. 59. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941.

⁸Robert J. Havighurst and Leota L. Janke, "Relations between ability and Social Status in a Midwestern Community I. Ten-Year-Old Children," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, XXXV (September, 1944, Pp. 357-69.

⁴St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, Black Metropolis, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945.

responses⁵. The complete series was initiated by Dr. Allison Davis⁶. The stratification procedures as used in these researches were designed to place children in various social-class levels by defining the class position of the parents. Warner⁷ states, "A class system provides that children are born into the same status as their parents." Therefore, the social-class level of the adults and/or parent may be defined without reference to the children, if there be need.

The social-class stratification of the children studied was done by securing data by a modification of Warner's technique. Warner used seven status characteristics in his researches: Area lived in, house type, occupation, source of income, amount of income, education, and ethnicity. The author substituted the level of respectability for ethnicity and modified the other traits by reducing them to a five-point weighting instead of a seven-point scale. For purposes of dealing with the Negro it was found that data on respectability yielded valid information about the subjects.

Level of respectability as used here refers to family organization and reputation, aesthetic appreciation, quality of language spoken, general appearance of the home and cleanliness.

The data were secured by means of private interviewing of the families of the children and other informants. The following interview schedule was used.

	Date	
I	nterviewer	
Name of Child	Sex	Age
Home Address	Phone No.	
House Type	Size of House	
Area Live in		
Father's Name	Mother's Name	
	Employer	
Occupation of Mother	Employer	
Do you own a car? Did	d your parents own or buy any land or	houses?

⁵Walter I. Murray, "The I.Q. and Social Class in the Negro Caste", The Southwestern Journal, Vol. IV, No. 4 (Fall) 1949.

⁶Allison Davis, "Cultural Factors in Intelligence Tests". Unpublished Studies, Department of Education, University of Chicago (In Progress).

⁷W. L. Warner and Paul Lunt, Social Life of a Modern Community, p. 82. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941.

•											
Education of Mother:											
Elementary School	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
High School :	9	10	11	12							
College	1	2	3	4	5						
Professional School	1	2	3	4	5						
Education of father:											
Elementary School	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
High School	9	10	11	12							
College	1	2	3	4	5						
Professional School	1	2	3	4	5						
How many years did mother's	brothe	er at	tend	sch	912						
How many years did mother's	sister	s at	tend	sch	2001?						
How many years did mother's	fathe	r at	tend	sch	001?						
How many years did mother's											
How many years did father's											
How many years did father's											
How many years did father's											
How many years did father's											
What clubs does this family											
Church											
Occupational Club											
Lodge and Fraternal Organiza						-					
Close Associates (1)											
Mother's favorite recreation?											
Father's favorite recreation?.											
Income from Occupation of me											
Income from Occupation of father? Income in addition to salary of mother or father?											
Remarks: (Data on participat	ion a	nd r	eput	ation	and	re:	spect	abili	ity)		

This schedule consists of fifty-six questions, each of which require a simple answer. Nine items call for conventional schedule data: date, interviewer, name of child, sex, age, address, telephone number, and parents' names. Eleven items call for a description of the economic status of the family: occupation, place of employment, ownership of personal and real property, and amount and size of income. Twenty items are designed to secure information concerning the education of the parents, grandparents, uncles and aunts. Twenty-one items call for information about the participation-level of the family: church and

(9)

ABOVE AVERAGE NEAR (8)

HIGH (1)

AREA LIVED

TABLE II Scale for Rating Status Characteristic

*Weighting in Parentheses

STATUS CHARACTERISTICS	70				
OCCUPATION	PROFESSIONAL a. Physicians b. Lawyers c. Dentists d. Ministers e. Educators f. Supervisors (a. Public Schools (b. Social Service (c. Givil Service SEMI PROFESSIONAL a. Personnel b. Social Workers c. Teachers d. Commercial	PROPRIETORS AND EXECUTIVES OF LARGE BUSINESSES a. Insurance companies b. Retail businesses c. Burial Associations d. Newspaper Publishers e. Morticians WHITE COLLAR OCUPATIONS a. Mail clerks b. Mail clerks	PROPRIETORS OF SMALL BUSINESSES a. Small Stores and Shops b. Barber Shops c. Beauty Shops c. Beauty Shops d. Restaurants SEMI-WHITE COLLAR a. Detail girls b. Stores c. Clerks in Stores d. Foreman-bureau of Streets	SEMI-SKILLED a. Packing house (a) Butcher (b) can trucker (c) Sausage maker (a) Moulders (b) Cranemen (c) Other (b) Elevator (b) Elevator (c) General (d) Factory	UNSKILLED a. City Street Cleaners b. Laborers c. Domestic Workers d. Cotton Pickers
	f. Engineers g. Statisticians h. Librarians	d. Bookkeepers e. Pullman Porters f. Dining car waiters g. Buyers h. Librarian assistants i. Milliners j. Dressmakers k. Clerical workers l. Factory	b. Tool and Diemaker c. Plumber d. Painter e. Cabinetmaker f. Auto Mechanic g. Machine Operator h. Carpenter		
AMOUNT OF	(1) Above \$5000	\$2000-\$5000	(3) \$900-\$2000	(4) \$600-\$900	(5) Below \$600
SOURCE OF INCOME	(1) 1. Savings and investments 2. Fees paid for aervices	1. Salaries paid for services on year- ly or monthly basis, from: 2. Frofits from 1-rege business.	(3) Profits made by small business proprietors	(4) Wages—Amounts paid for weekly, daily or hourly basis.	(5) Public relief and non-respectable income.

EDUCATION College University HOUSE TYPE Large and Medium- sized houses in good condition. LEVEL OF RESPECTABILITY RESPECTAB	HIGH (1) L. Characterized by exclusive- ness and "old family" tradi- tion. 2. Characterized as areas of the "elite".	ABOVE AVERAGE Subdivisions of ve- white collar, pro- old fessional and semi- adi- workers.	NEAT Middle-sized homes of 'Ye- spectable', and skilled workers.	(4) Mear factories, semi-business areas.	Slum (5)
Large and Medium. Me sized houses in an good condition. in parental relationships. b. Leaders in social and honorary c. c. "The pillars" of d. the high status churches d. Talk professional e. shop and of art interests in "college language". c. Carpeting, drappery, tapestry, "silver" and maids. d. Practitioners of maids. f. Emily Post".	(2) College University	(4) 8-12 Grades	(6) 6-7 Grades	(8) 4-5 Grades	(10) 0-3 Grades
ABILITY parental relationships. b. Leaders in social and honorary c. organizations. c. "The pillars" of d. the high status churchs. d. Talk professional e. shop and of art interests in "college language". e. Carpeting, drapperty, "silver" and maids. f. Practitioners of maids. f. "Emily Post".	(1) Large and Med sized houses in good condition.	ium-	(3) Medium-sized and small houses in medium condition.	(4) Medium-sized and small houses in bad condition.	(5) Attics, basements, storefronts, and houses in very bad condition.
g. Use of dining occasions. room daily. h. Adjust shoits	તે તે ઇ જે ઇ અને પ્રેર્થ	cial b. c. c. v. of d. c. c. v. art f. f. f. f. f. c. f.	a. Stable and organized parental relationships. b. No illegitimacy, open promiscuity, open promiscuity, open promiscuity, marriage and desertion by mate. c. "Good." Eng-lish. d. Dining room used with "silver" on Sundays and special ver" on Sundays and special arangement of General arangement of home formalism. f. There is little evidence of art and music	a. Low stability in family relationships. b. There may be desertions. c. No illegitimacy or open promiserity by women. c. Church club and other associational memberships are of lower status. d. Hold minor offices. e. Some attempt to have clean homes and fair furniture. f. Language exhibits dialect.	a. Unstable family relationship. b. Desertions, illegitimacy, and open promiscuity by one of the mates. c. Irregular attendance at churches of low status. d. Language poor, vulgar, and profane. e. Unsufficient and poor furniture.

2. Profits from large business.

associational membership, offices held, kinds of recreational activities engaged in, social functions, and close associates. Five items call for information concerning the level of respectability.

After data have been secured through the interview the next step in the procedure is to classify these data into the seven categories and to assign weights to each category. Observation and experience with the device demonstrate that certain characteristics are more important than others when defining the status of Negroes. For example, the U. S. Supreme Court has declared restrictive covenants invalid, but we find Negroes still "restricted". In short, we find that caste restricts mobility. The assignment of unequal weights is not so much a matter of statistical significance but is a matter of social significance. The following scale of weighting was used.

Characteristics	Weighting
1. Area Live In	1-2-3-4-5
2. House Type	1-2-3-4-5
3. Occupation	1-2-3-4-5
4. Amount of Income	1-2-3-4-5
5. Source of Income	1-2-3-4-5
6. Education of Parents	2-4-6-8-10
7. Respectability	4-8-12-16-20

An individual's status is rated on the five-point scale which ranges from score of "1", very high status, to "5", very low status. It must be borne in mind that some characteristics such as area lived in and house type, have high degrees of equivalence in a given community. The maximum score of high status is 11. The maximum score of low status is 55. The social-class equivalents resulting from the study of the author in 1945 follows:

TABLE III Status Levels As Revealed By Scores

Total Score	Social-Class
11 - 15	Upper
15 - 21	Upper Middle
22 - 32	Lower Middle
33 — 43	Upper-lower
44 — 54	Lower-lower

Four hundred one individuals were stratified into social-class groups. The validity of the author's adaptation of the Warner I. S. C. was obtained by having three experts who had done social-class studies of Negroes communities stratify the sample independently. These judges were Professors Allison Davis and W. Lloyd Warner of the University of Chicago, and Professor Mozell Hill of Langston University (now at Atlanta University). The judgment stratifications of the three experts were in agreement with those of the author.

SUMMARY

The purpose of this article is to present a more adequate instrument for measuring the social-class status of Negro children. The techniques here used are modifications of the Warner technique. These modifications were made in order to provide for the restrictions imposed on the Negro because of his caste status.

The instrument provides for the stratification of Negro samples into five social-class groups. It should be pointed out that there are no visible lines of demarcation between adjacent social-class groups. The approximate social-class position is predictable through the use of this instrument.

It is hoped that more refined modifications of the Warner techniques be made to enable workers to stratify Negro samples more effectively.

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GROUP DYNAMICS IN THE CLASSROOM

J. Resnick

One of the reasons for studying group dynamics is to find ways of giving every individual in the group an opportunity to contribute to the maximum extent of his ability toward the solution of a particular problem. Functioning as a member of a group is one of the things which an individual will do anyway. The objective is to help the student to do better this desirable type of activity in which he will participate. To learn to work cooperatively as a member of a group is good citizenship training for living in an American democracy.

Functioning as an individual in a group goes back to the early life of the person when he was intimately a part of a family. As the child grows older and mingles with other children, he finds young people near his own age and the things they have in common weld them closer together and give mutual satisfaction. With the passing years, the child broadens his acquaintances and demonstrates a desire for greater social participation with others. This is a gradual development and often reflects the increased feeling of security and confidence of the individual in a social situation while participating as a member of a group. The school which the individual attends provides opportunities for

belonging to several groups. In high school, the student generally finds himself in one or more groups while college life usually affords considerably more group membership. It is not difficult to find members of a group. Individuals are often drawn together by common requirements or needs and thus offer the educator a unique opportunity to help provide the proper environment for the development of desirable reactions. The farmer, for example, is drawn to others of his occupation. A common basis of interest is present which serves to hold such a group together. Within a classroom may exist many small groups drawn together

intellectual pursuits. These groups provide a basis for learning to cooperate as a member of a group toward the solution of various problems. The method of using the group process is often slower than if the educator used a more direct approach, but it must be borne in mind that this way of learning is often more important than the immediate goal.

In order to attain maximum efficiency in a group, there are many techniques which may be used. One of the initial steps might be to establish a goal or limit the problem under discussion to relative boundaries. The attitude of the individuals participating in the group process should be to obtain as many views as possible in order that a mutually satisfactory decision may be obtained. The end result should indicate a modification of the viewpoint of each of the participants within the group. A wider scope of under-

standing concerning the problem should evolve.

Subjects over which a great deal of prejudice exists in the group should not be the initial part of the discussion. It is far better to give time to the group to get accustomed to reaching decisions upon the lesser issues. This gives experience in considering the views of others and lays a foundation for the modification of more deeply entrenched beliefs. For example, the issue of whether race prejudice is harmful to the country, might stir personal feelings and resentments because many individuals have been exposed to earlier influences which may bias their thinking. A subject of a lesser personal nature might be "How may we better provide recreational facilities in our school?" This should help remove the personal side and give practice in viewpoint modification.

A useful technique in working with a group is to present each member with a general outline which may serve to stimulate thought and provoke questions for discussion. Such an outline serves as a road map to indicate direction toward the goal. If presented to the group at the outset, it may help to orient them to the problem under consideration. The group process is best served by reducing formality to a minimum. Even the general outline should not be thought of as a rigid form to dominate action. Too close adherence to a fixed schedule may stifle initiative. Freedom should be permitted to develop additional areas which may present themselves as a result of interests within the group. Where the members begin to stray from the main subject under discussion, the leader may make a remark to the group giving them an opportunity to indicate their willingness to deviate from the principal topic. Often such digressions serve a worthy purpose in that other questions are provoked and the result may be a broader concept of the issue at hand.

The avoidance of controversies over the interpretation of a phrase or words is to be sought. While the dictionary gives definitions for usage, actual meanings usually depend upon the background of the individual and his experience in which the words were applied. Although general patterns of reference should be established, time consuming debates over word meanings ought to be largely restricted. Usually a few examples illustrating the idea intended to be conveyed by the word, should suffice.

Shall the speed at which a group arrives at an answer to a problem be the sole criterion for judging the success of the group process? The members of a group should judge their accomplishment in terms of the improvement in working together as a group as well as in the rapidity of arriving at a solution or obtaining of an idea. Did the shy or reserved person get an opportunity to speak? Was he given a chance to contribute and express his views? Was the group largely dominated by a few talkative members who utilized most of the available time? Was evidence used to support the opinions of the members? These and other questions of a similar nature go toward answering the question as to whether progress was made in the advancement of the group process or group technique.

At all times, the individuals in the group should be aware of the necessity to support their position with evidence. This will make for sounder thinking. The authority mentioned may then be evaluated by the members. The writer recalls the case of a college student who believed in spiritualism, quoting as his authority, the renowned author of Sherlock Holmes, namely Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. The student felt that so brilliant a man as the creator of Dr. Watson and Sherlock Holmes must be a reliable reference. The student was not aware of the alleged knowledge that while in his youth, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle was an exceptional writer, but in his later life, due to a series of misfortunes, one of which was a death in the family, this famous author became considerably depressed and morose. He was in reality quite a sick man. It was at this time that he expressed his belief in the existence of spirits and was supposed to have communicated with them. The judging of evidence presented can dispel cloudy thinking and reinforce the need for the facts in the situation.

The necessity for evidence should be strong enough in the background of a discussion so that if its absence is felt, the group should take whatever steps necessary to secure the required information. It may be best that the work cease until the facts are obtained. The knowledge should be secured from the most readily available sources, whether they be books, journals, speakers, or other authorities. A vote taken as to the majority viewpoint cannot replace the research findings. The lack of information may result, for example, in a majority vote that Columbus discovered America in the year 1650. This action does not alter the historical facts.

An excellent technique in group dynamics is to have frequent summaries of the progress made. Such an abstract may cover the original problem under discussion, the essential ideas presented, and further needed areas for probing. This brings together loose ends and shows where the members of the group are in agreement. Such a procedure

will focus attention on other issues which need consideration.

The way of group dynamics may be somewhat less rapid than that of the lecture method. However, the goal of using subject matter as means of personality development rather than as an end in itself is considerably more worthwhile as a preparation for democratic living. In our country, where we have prejudice of race, color, and religion, as well as other varieties of prejudices, activity involving viewpoint modification when the facts are presented, is good training for American citizenship.

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A HICKORY STICK FOR THE BLIND

Jacob Twersky

In 1936 I became a student at the New York Institute for the Education of the Blind—one of the three oldest schools for the blind in the United States. It had been started in 1830 as part of the general humanitarian trend of that decade, during which prison reform was ushered in, along with better treatment of the insane and the Abolition movement. It is one of two schools in New York State specializing exclusively in the education of blind children up to the age of twenty-one, offering them kindergarten, elementary, and secondary school education. In addition the Institute provides pre-vocational training in handicrafts, such as caning, leatherwork, weaving, carpentry and music.

At the time I attended, there were about 300 students, almost equally divided between boys and girls, most of whom were partially sighted. Their sight, however, was so defective that they found it exceedingly difficult or actually impossible to read ordinary print.

The staff was almost as large as the student body, and it consisted of administrators, clerks, secretaries, teachers, housemothers, maintenance personnel and scholarship students. These last were usually foreign observers, interested in the methods of educating the blind. But among the staff, even as teachers, there were very few blind people.

The grounds of the Institute, some sixteen acres, with the buildings of Northern Colonial architecture, resembled the campus of a typical midwestern college. Both grounds and buildings were carefully tended, perhaps too carefully for the satisfaction of growing boys. In the limited amount of free time the students had, they ran about on the grounds, playing ball, kidding one another or just strolling. A casual passerby glancing through the bars of the iron fence could hardly have been aware that these children were at a school for the blind.

The day I arrived at the Institute, (a totally blind boy of fourteen) I first received a physical examination and was then shown to my room in one of the boys' dormitories. Here I met the elderly woman who was to be my housemother, whose thankless task it was to rein in the boys and help them become gentlemen. My locker and bed were pointed out to me, and after I deposited my suitcase there, I went to the school building and joined the morning classes.

The school day began with all the students and teachers gathered in the assembly to sing a hymn, listen to a few items clipped from *The New York Times*, and to hear singing or musical programs. In class I learned that students need not stand up, as in public schools, when called upon to recite, but otherwise classroom behavior was the same, including the whispering among students, whispering that, together with the laughter and shouts in the corridors, started me wondering about my schoolmates and made me eager to meet them.

After morning classes ended at noon, we had half an hour to ourselves. All students, however, knew what limits there were to this freedom, for a braille copy of the regula-

tions forbade smoking, loafing and rowdiness, and encouraged good manners, table etiquette and studiousness. During this free period I exchanged hello's with a few boys who showed me around the Institute. We walked to the younger children's building which was known as the Lower School, for youngsters up to eleven years of age. This was a school within a school, complete with dining room, dormitory and classrooms. From there we went to the poultry house where students took on-the-job training in the care of chickens, and we continued on to the girls' side of the campus. There we stopped, for it was against regulations to go further; and later I learned that, except for classes and a few social dances, boys were not often permitted to associate with girls.

The bell rang for lunch. In the boys' section of the dining hall, my housemother escorted me to an assigned seat where I stood until a signal bell permitted us to sit down. We ate in what seemed to be the midst of an overcrowded subway

station.

Another recess followed lunch, and this time I stood around while a group of boys played stick-ball, which they call "baseball." The pitcher threw a rubber ball so that it bounced before the plate. Judging the ball by the sound of the bounce, the batter swung and, if he connected, ran to the spot where he knew first base was located. The bounce principle governed all throwing of the ball.

Afternoon classes were chiefly devoted to music, handicrafts and physical training, and the Institute was alive with the sounds of activity. Not the least of these were the ringing voices of the Institute's singing group, a chorus that had won considerable reputation after performing over the radio and at public gatherings. And tucked away in small rooms, students practiced on their instruments, reading the music from braille notation or, as was the case of a quintet dance band that played at outside affairs, by listening to recordings.

Those first days at the Institute I was busy adapting myself to the order of things. Classes in the afternoon ended at 5:15 P.M., and for the next hour we were free. Then, after supper, we again had free time until 7:30 P.M. when the study hour began. All the boys met in one large hall and the girls in another, each supervised by a proctor. This assured the students of sufficient time to complete class assignments, whether it was writing an English theme, reading a chapter in the braille history textbooks, or solving algebra problems on the braille writing machine. For me this was an excellent opportunity to read, my work usually having been completed during the day, and I devoured novel after novel.

Reveille was sounded for us each morning by a bell, followed by the housefather's cry, "Time for showers!" This was a communal affair, all showers going at once, much like those I had known in the delousing examinations en route from Poland to the United States. There was a single set of regulators for water temperature and supply, and at this spot the housefather stood with, it seemed to me, the air of a submarine captain maneuvering his vessel for a torpedo discharge. Actually his job was to keep the boys from playfully scalding or freezing each other, and to stop towel fights.

And then our day rolled along with the clock. Like little trains, each on his own track, we moved from place to place on schedule and the history of those days would have

to read a lot like a railroad time table.

Only extra-curricular activities allowed for any measure of spontaneity. They formed an integral part of the Institute's program, and, on the whole, provided experiences which were not only instructive but stimulating as well.

Athletic competition was the heart of the program for most of the fellows and for many of the girls. It was an outlet for their emotions and their energies, and it bound them together and made them feel that they were part of something, that they belonged. The vitality of the Institute school spirit had little to do with the school itself, but had everything to do with their hunger for the experiences of comradeship, loyalty and the exhilarating feeling of invulnerability that comes from unity.

At wrestling meets they would cheer themselves hoarse, rooting for their favorites as they struggled on the mat. Those with partial vision described the bouts to the totally blind, and the scored points of the contenders were frequently announced over the loudspeaker system. As visiting friends of mine have remarked, at times this lag between what was occurring on the mat and the actual cheering had an ironic effect, since the students would roar their approval of the report of a quick move half a minute before by their favorite, while at the instant of cheering the favorite had been reversed and was fighting to avoid being pinned.

Track meets were held in May and June, usually with teams from schools for the blind of Boston, Hartford, Philadelphia and Baltimore. The standing broad jump and the shot-put were important events, presented without any modifications, but the running broad jump was not used at all. For the dashes, there was a four-lane cinder track with steel cables stretched along its length at slightly above hip-level. The blind sprinter, after some practice, needed only to brush the cable with his left hand finger tips as he ran, and with still more practice, he could often run at full speed without touching the cable at all, allowing himself the sprinter's normal pumping of the arms. Students watching these meets spread themselves over the whole field and had a fine time drinking soda pop, making a tremendous racket, and kidding around with the opposite sex.

On a less strenuous level, the students were active theatrically. The Dramatic Club presented such dramas as "Our Town" and "Pygmalion," and instrumental or vocal musical programs were frequently put on for an audience that included occasional visitors as well as students and their instructors. On the day before Easter and Christmas vacations, special programs were prepared for relatives and

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friends of the students, individuals who were objectively interested in the Institute's services, and visitors such as alumni and casual observers. Following the usual prolonged monotony of the principal's greeting there were dramatic sketches, choral singing and piano solos to give the more accomplished students a chance to express their talents. Then the principal invited the audience to look around the school and to purchase what they wished at the sales of products made by the craft workers in vocational classes. The money went to the students, after the cost of materials had been deducted. Such sales and exhibitions embarrassed some of the more sensitive boys and girls who felt like trained monkeys performing in a circus, or like the child who is considered wonderful because he can wiggle his ears. They realized that the public had to be educated to the abilities of the blind, but they wished there were other ways of doing it.

Occasionally the boys and girls had dances at the Institute, and the scene was never different than that at any high school dance. Inevitably the boys drew together for mutual protection, and the girls in their clusters kept chattering and giggling and hoping the boys would take the initiative. Those few boys or girls who were not bashful were usually over-assertive.

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They were all, of course, as tormented by sex consciousness as are sighted adolescents, perhaps even more so. Although it is true that the blind cannot physically see the opposite sex, this does not really function as a minimizing factor but rather increases the mystery. And since it is the unknown that arouses curiosity and stimulates the imagination, the youngsters at the Institute never tired of talking about sex, and almost all of them wove sexual fantasies for themselves as they yearned for actual experiences.

I was not completely aware of the situation at the time because, as it is with boys who are seriously interested in athletics and studies, my attention was concentrated on other things. But I was certainly not reluctant to join in any discussions of the matter, and now and then certain facts did impress themselves upon me. One boy, I remember, was so eager to let others in on his ideas that he wrote them in braille for circulation. This pornographic literature, although not at all well written, was perhaps the most widely read material in the entire Institute, and for all I know it may still be passed around by students today.

Some of the students actually were experienced. One couple met regularly under the staircase near the gymnasium. We regarded the boy as some type of hero and listened breathlessly to his accounts. When they were expelled, no one had to ask whether or not a member of the staff had discovered them.

But by far the most common boy-and-girl relationships were the love affairs which had to thrive on braille notes exchanged in class and meetings outside the Institute on weekends. Opposition of the authorities only made the affairs more romantic; and in a number of cases that I know of, the couples afterward married.

It is surprising, however, considering the segregation of the sexes that existed, that homosexuality and lesbianism rarely cropped up. Occasionally reports trickled down through the grapevine that girls had been punished for sleeping together or that boys were being transferred to different rooms because they had grown too close. Such cases were rare and even when rumor bore the news, it was discounted as an exaggeration. On one occasion, though, we were ready to take action. An older student had forced one of the younger boys into homosexuality, and eventually the panic-stricken youngster reported the matter to the office. When word reached the rest of us, we assumed all the characteristics of a mob. Some were for beating the older boy thoroughly, while others suggested that we wait until night and then string him up by his feet from a tree. Fortunately for him, he was expelled that day.

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Cruelty was common. Let me state at the outset that I do not believe the boys at the Institute were basically any more cruel than any ordinary group of boys; but I do think that many were frustrated into greater cruelty by their blindness. Feeling themselves to be inadequate in many respects, they acted aggressively toward the weaker and duller boys. In racial, class, and international relations, the same feeling often has the same results.

Classes, reading, wrestling, bull sessions and other activities consumed practically all of my waking hours, and in a way I regretted not having time in which to be alone and to think matters through for myself. But whenever it rained during the few unscheduled hours we did have, I would stop whatever I was doing and go outside to an archway before the dormitory building where, leaning against a pillar, out in the rain but not being wet, sheltered by the huge umbrella of an arch, I could let myself think about what had been happening to me, what I had been learning. The sound of the rain falling above and around me was pleasant and musical, and the air, washed and cool, was deliciously fragrant. It was quiet, within the pattering of the rain, and I felt myself alone and happy.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Best Short Stories by Afro-American Writers. Edited by Nick Aaron Ford and H. L. Faggett. The Meador Press, Boston, Mass. 1950. 307 pp.

Two teachers at Morgan State College, Nick Aaron Ford and H. L. Faggett, have selected forty short stories from the files of the Afro-American newspaper and assembled them in an anthology. The jacket, suggesting stories of lurid crime and the title are both misleading: there are no murders within the covers, and the term Afro-Americans brings to mind writers of African-American descent, and it is only when one reads the introduction that he realizes that the term refers to authors whose stories once appeared on the pages of the newspaper, founded and operated by a Negro family and called The Afro-American. The volume itself does not live up to the worthy aims of its editors who state that they wish to portray "the real story of the American Negro in the period 1925-50, and to contribute to "the improvement of racial understanding in the United States.

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Too many of the stories are mediocre, and some of them might have remained "crumbling and fading in the files" (from which the editors say they retrieved them) without any great loss to current literature or racial understanding. They are very short stories, running from three and one half pages to eighteen and three quarters pages, and yet, one feels too often while reading that the writers were adding words simply to fill up the required newspaper columns. It might be said here that knowing something about the authors of the stories might have added to the enjoyment of the book; some are known to be reporters, and the names of one or two professional writers were recognized, but no indication is given of this in the book, although it might well have appeared on the seven blank pages at the end. The stories are not very compact; some of them are carelessly written.

Taking the five sections of the book individually, the first and third sections might be considered the best in view of the editors' declared aims. The first, Of Human Relations, contains accounts of discrimination against a Negro mother at Christmas time and a white doctor's protest; of a white minister who had the courage to stand by his own convictions against a well-to-do bigoted church member; of a white youth who had learned democracy and dared to oppose his prejudiced mother; of rude white employees of a store in contrast with a dignified Negro fellow-employee; of a Negro girl's feelings when discriminated against in a department store where she

had once received very courteous treatment; of a test made by an interracial group traveling on a Southern train; of a white social worker's change in attitude toward colored people after a single experience involving a Negro baby; of a white judge who tried to keep one of his countrymen from marrying a Latin American, and of the attitude of Negroes and whites toward one who has crossed the color line. The portraits of character in the above stories are superior to the handling of the plots. There is one story here, "Mulatto Flair," which might better have been placed in the section on Love and Romance. It has been included in this section, probably, because it is concerned with race relations.

In the third section, Loyalty and Patriotism, are three good portraits of character: a courageous and dignified mother; a white judge who allows himself to be frustrated by a Negro youth whose personality has become warped by the experiences he has had with discrimination, and a Negro captain who chose to go to the bottom of the sea with his discarded Liberty ship. In it is also an account of a historical incident which was connected with Shay's Rebellion. Here, there is too much crowded into the space where there should have been one exciting event.

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The second section, Of Crime and Punishment, tells of a young Negro policeman who captures a Negro gangster at the home of a girl in whom both are romantically interested; and of a thief who is Negro (but the story lacks excitement). The best stories in this section are of conflict between the races, "The Majesty of the Law" and "Chatter-stick Sermon"; the latter is more dramatically related

The fourth section, Of Love and Romance, does little to portray Negro character, except in, perhaps three stories (of the seven); "No Greater Love", which tells the love story of a pullman porter and how his employment came near destroying his marriage has merit; "The Goldfish Bowl", which depicts a little of class and caste among Negroes is interesting, and the third story, "Common Meter", the best of the section, and probably of the entire book when considered in light of the aims of the editors. It is well written, telling of a contest between two popular orchestras at one of Harlem's Dance Halls in the late twenties. The minor and major characters are well drawn; the jargon, common to that period; the love interest good and the plot well developed and gripping. The author knew music and was a professional writer of short stories.

The last section, Of Sunshine and Shadow, contains a conglomeration of miscellaneous narratives, the last of which is called "Fisherman's Luck". It starts with a good idea of a Negro chauffeur in Baltimore, Maryland being mistaken for a bandit, but it is extended into an account of a romantic experience which has little relation to the beginning.

It would take too much time to criticize each of these stories separately, but some comment should be made of the twelve stories which make little, and more often no reference to color, and are simply stories of universal interest. "The Shepherd" tells of a reformed mother who retrieves her often-arrested son from the police promising to mend his ways by setting him a better example in the future; "Soft Boiled", relates of a waitress who almost lost faith in human nature because a "panhandler" to whom she had given money and food was later found dead in a coat having six thousand dollars in its lining. "Greater Love", "All That Glitters", "A Gust of Wind" or "Cupid Wags His Tail", all might have happened to any married couple, anywhere. "The Killer", which suggests a way of handling a small boy who does not want his sister to marry; "Leg Man", "The Right Thing", "Pa Sees Again", "End of a Dream" and "Life Begins At Forty", all these might have happened to anyone.

These stories, no doubt, served the purpose for which they were written, namely as features of the magazine section of the popular Afro-American, but as an anthology, they fail to fulfill the aims and purposes as stated by the editors in their introductions.

W. H. Grayson, Jr.
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Goals for American Education, edited by Lyman Bryson, Louis Finkelstein, and R. M. MacIver. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950. 555 pages.

Perspectives on a Troubled Decade, edited by Lyman Bryson, Louis Finkelstein, and R. M. MacIver. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950. 901 pages.

There two volumes are the most recent of a series published by the Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion. Both typify the weaknesses and strengths of the Conference itself.

Their central weakness lies in an almost total lack of conceptual cement. Each of the many writers speaks pretty much for himself and, one fears, often to himself. There are too few kernels of basic agreement either within or between the volumes, except on

a level of fairly innocuous generalization. Moreover, the quality of interpretation is extremely uneven, while the unique arrangement of lengthy footnote comments by scholars other than authors of the major essays reveals a frequent lack of precise communica-

tion even between respective commentators and essayists.

One could wish, accordingly, for some experimentation by the Conference with newer methods of group communication and group consensus being developed upon the research foundations of social scientists such as the late Kurt Lewin. Granting that representative scholars in religion, science, and philosophy would not, and probably should not, reach complete agreement on the fundamental issues raised in either volume, it still seems difficult to justify so graphically the same state of confusion and conflict among scholars that pervades the culture at large.

Actually, the likelihood of meaningful consensus—at least among a majority of those who have joined in the decade of annual Conference sessions—may be less remote than the editorial structure would lead us to suppose. There is no dearth of intelligence, competence, or good will among the participants. How to mobilize such resources, and direct them to the maximum of common means and common ends, is the primary question which Conference leaders

have failed thus far to face except, at best, obliquely.

By "obliquely" we mean that, while they are surely aware of the chronic intellectual anarchy revealed by their symposia, Dr. Finkelstein and his associates have preferred to deal with it more by admitting than by doing anything constructively experimental about it. For example, Goals for American Education includes an essay by F. Ernest Johnson which, while assessing the extent to which discussion of educational goals had pervaded preceding sessions of the Conference, succeeds much less in disclosing common denominators among the sessions than in underscoring the array of unanswered questions which such discussion had raised. Again, Perspectives on a Troubled Decade concerns itself, admirably enough, with the relations between earlier and later essays, and particularly with the problem of "integration" in thought and culture. Yet the conclusions reached are sometimes more discouraging than encouraging; not only does the continuity of analysis and viewpoint during the last decade often seem fragile if not obscure; even the term "integration" as it is used by various writers escapes integration.

The strength of the two volumes is to be found chiefly in the excellence of particular contributions, the range of erudition, the richness of both conceptual and empirical materials, the respect of philosophers, scientists, and religionists for divergent judgments. Educators concerned with human relations and social studies will

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find them especially fruitful resources. The volume on educational goals contains essays representing all the major theories underlying school practice in America today. The other volume includes such important authorities as Louis Wirth, Gardner Murphy, Margaret Mead, Harold Laswell, Herman Finer, and Carl Friedrich. Both should be on the collateral reading lists of many courses in schools of education where there is honest concern for the crisis of our time.

Theodore Brameld

Sociology: An Introduction, by Joseph S. Roucek and Roland L. Warren. Ames, Iowa: Littlefield, Adams & Co., 1951, xii + 275 pages. (Paper)

This "college outline" is a review of the essential principles of sociology. The length permits little more than a succession of definitions with the barest minimum of description and illustration. The sequence of topics, designed to follow that of recent textbooks, begins with culture and personality and goes on to processes, groups, institutions, social problems, social control, and social change. There follow sections on the study of sociology; its branches and fields of interest; accounts of 15 important social theorists; helpful lists of vocational opportunities and of schools offering advanced degrees in sociology and in social work; a 20-page glossary; and an index. There is also a table of cross-reference of chapters to the corresponding chapters of 15 of the better-known textbooks, published 1946 to 1950 inclusive.

Apparently the main aim of such college outlines is to help the student beat an examination. If they do, that would seem to indicate an undesirable stress on rote learning and memorization of definitions in teaching and examinations.

The cross-reference table referred to might help an instructor make a preliminary selection of textbooks with the emphases that he desires. For example, it would appear that a number of texts have several chapters on culture and on personality and none on other topics, whereas other texts have much more on social problems or social change, and so on.

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